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241 The Chiriguano are proud of the extent of their fields.
 115 "Captain" Karnapadyú made me walk over all of his, emphasizing its size and the abundance of its produce. Another Chiriguano, after taking me along across all of his plantations, without sparing me one plot of ground, told me as he was bringing me back, with an air at the same time proud and questioning: "Guapo yo" /I am enterprising/. I answered that he was indeed very "guapo." He seemed flattered and happy.

243 The father clears his daughter's field, which represents for
 593 her a kind of dowry. The son-in-law must then take care of
 583 it, do the sowing and reap the harvest (1). My guide Cipriano
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1. Corrado (p. 155) states that young married couples live at the expense of their parents and that they do not cultivate any chacras nor build a house before having a child.

complained bitterly about his son-in-law, whose laziness had obliged him to harvest his daughter's corn himself.

Chapter III

Cooking and Food

Food Resources

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I have eaten meat only very rarely in Chiriguano villages, and I have never had a chance to taste a piece of game. It is not that this latter has disappeared from the region, exterminated by man, but the Chiriguano do not take the trouble to pursue it. In former days they were enthusiastic hunters, like nearly all the Indians of tropical America. When they were expecting guests for a drinking feast, the men went out into the bush and during 15 to 20 days got a good supply of the flesh of the peccary, deer, nandu, pigeon, armadillo,

[251] chufia /a wading bird/, and even parrot. To preserve it they dried it in the sun without salt (Nino, pp. 249-258).

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000 the wives of Christ their infinite goodness, and the priests the sciences and their Author. Each one in his branch turns his affection to the object which pleases him most. Even Indians have this privilege, because they are men who come from the same tree, whose trunk is in Adam and Eve (2).

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2. They say that the first forebears of the Chiriguano race are different from the progenitors of Christians and missionaries, because we are of a different color, wealth, intelligence, and worth. They add that their first father's name was Araparigua.

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As a consequence of the foregoing, the Chiriguano has no object which he loves other than his fellow man, because idleness and ignorance do not make him aspire to other things. A man and a woman love each other reciprocally, but as they also inherit the original sin, they are subject to its many consequences. Thus it happens that cases where a man betrays his wife, or she him, are not rare. What is the result of this? If it is the woman who was unfaithful to the conjugal bonds, the man will remedy it by providing her with goodly number of whacks with a stick and separating from her definitively, and if it should be the man, which is generally what happens, it is not so easy for the woman to do anything /120/ about it. Instead she usually sees herself more and more oppressed. The husband makes a martyr of her. Well-founded jealousy begins to destroy her. She can do nothing against her rival. She has no religion which will help her resign herself to her fate. She makes every effort to avenge herself in some way, but it is difficult, she thinks in this extreme case that she achieves all she can do by taking her life. To do this, she finds a rope, puts it around her neck, ties it to any small tree or such thing, casts loose her body, and, since no one sees her, in a few minutes she ceases to exist (1).

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1. A woman of some 25 years of age

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committed suicide in her own home early one Sunday morning at a height of one meter. She did it by kneeling down.

Suicide is not rare even among men, and there were several during my stay among the Chiriguano. The men, if they are young, commit it in order not to suffer the reproach of their parents for something bad they have done. If they are older than their wives, it is because they have no other way to remedy the woman's infidelity, because there are cases in which a man dominated by his wife and somewhat timid in nature does not dare in such circumstances to throw the bad one out of his house, and thus he believes that he can fix everything by taking his life. These unpleasant happenings and accidents happen in the fields or in the woods.

Boxing and Dueling

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In ancient times this race was very numerous and constantly in a state of war against its common enemies, but there were other wars in which one town rose up against another for trivial reasons. In the middle of the nineteenth century there was a bloody war between the towns of Yvu and Caraguatarenta against those of the right bank of the stream of Cuevo because of oppression which the cacique Gũiracoti had tried to practice (2).

2. This regional war occurred before Chimeo Mission was founded. Gũiracoti deceived the authorities of Cordillera, who were quartering people in the vicinity and around Parapiti in order to repress the audacity of Yaveau, whom they believed to be the head of the revolution.

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When the mother of a family is widowed at a mature age, after a year of widowhood, if she was a dutiful wife, she can easily remarry; it is much easier if she has a daughter, even if she is small. The Chiriguano man marries the mother with the hope of being able to marry the stepdaughter when she reaches a suitable age. If at the time of marrying a widow the stepdaughter is already an adult, it is difficult to achieve this end, because young girls abhor this type of union, in spite of the fact that their mother, in order not to be repudiated, often serves as a go-between for the wicked desires of her husband (2).

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2. The stepdaughter, when she sees the impossibility of freeing herself from the evil intentions of her stepfather, will often run away to another tribe, and, if she cannot manage this, will take her life by suicide.

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In spite of being so inclined to lechery without regard for kinship, even in a direct line, it is worth considering the respect that the Chiriguano professes for consanguinity, regardless of the degree considered. It is unlikely that a man will marry a cousin in the fourth degree, and he tries to respect even more distant degrees. With much more reason the father respects his daughters as holy things, it being completely false what somebody wrote about this, having heard of the case where one Chiriguano or several had lived with their daughters when the mother had died. It could happen that in the future they might marry their cousins, since they see that their superiors do this, but how many of those who are here will be alive a few years from now?

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party, gives the young suitor an account of what has happened, encouraging him to have hope.

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When the old people want it and the daughter is pleased by the young man's manners, the matter is promptly concluded, and the husband enters the wife's house without saying a word for three or four nights, without letting himself be seen in it during the day. On the fourth or fifth day both of them present themselves to the public, sitting at the threshold of the door. Then the bachelor companions of the newly married man come to him and ask him a thousand questions, congratulating him on his luck. The young woman hears all this with much embarrassment, but this is the first and last time. She will not experience this again.

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From what has been said it can be deduced that it is not the young woman who seeks out a man to marry, but he; and in the presence of her relatives, friends, or strangers, she will never manifest in any way her love for her husband,

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however much she may truly love him. This reciprocal love often causes a maiden, because her parents are opposed to the union, to run away /207/ to live with her husband in another tribe for a long time, in the house of her relatives, and return with the marriage already contracted in fact.

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The Chiriguano are not accustomed to having celebrations in connection with their marriages. Only after the marriage has been consummated does the mother of the newly married man, during the absence of her son in his wife's house, make chicha ferment. On the fifth or sixth day she calls them, has them in the house the whole day, makes them drink a little, prepares a small lunch for them with much affection for her daughter-in-law, gives both of them very sound advice, and sends them off as night approaches (1).

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1. It is the law of the Chiriguano that the husband must live in the house of his father-in-law as soon as marriage is contracted;

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462 The woman among the Chiriguano is a true slave, and
562 the man her master. His work for the family is limited to
planting and weeding, as well as fetching the necessary fire-
wood. In addition, /208/ as a diversion and pastime, he
[517] takes his bow and arrow, goes out into the countryside and
hunts, or fishes in a nearby river, spending the rest of his time
talking with his friends, recounting exploits, telling stories,
Miani, playing cards and throwing dice, even going so far
as to bet the tipoy or cutama of his wife.

[482] She, on the contrary, is the work horse of the house. She
[515] carries the maize with her Añapoca, a kind of net, goes to
the spring and carries on her shoulders and over long distances
some 50 libras of water, prepares food, makes chicha, cleans
her house, spins, weaves ponchos, makes ollas, cares for her
children, raises animals such as pigs, chickens, sheep, and
goats, makes cheese if she has cows, and, as if all this were
not enough, in the afternoon she sits down next to her lazy
husband, releases his healthy hair, and as a distraction goes
looking through that labyrinth for the insects which nest there,
[262] without feeling any disgust. I am not talking about killing
them, but about doing away with some with her teeth and
making a snack out of others, a very simple thing for these
women.

562 Everything is permitted for the man. He can play upon
593 words and make lascivious jokes with other women, but this
is not permitted for the wife, nor can she even cast a sidelong
glance, which would be enough to cause her to be maltreated
and divorced. How many things there are in nature! It is
painful to see a mother with her four or five little ones abandoned
to suffer hunger and despair, while the rascal of a husband
with no just cause at all goes happily off with another, giving
her the little that he earns and then getting rid of her at the
first chance (1).

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586 1. When the man turns out to be too lazy, it
is the woman who leaves him, going off with
another, and the children go with her, because

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love can accomplish much, and they really love their children, without making much outward show of this.

Finally, the man, whenever he wishes, can dismiss his wife with great ease. He does it with contempt, in biting words, calling her Cufia pochi, bad woman, Cufia imuquere, lost woman, good only for lighting the fire. No one could endure such scorn for an hour, and she understands that the rascal has won the love of another, younger woman.

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When a mother goes to the spring or river, she takes her son or daughter with her, bathes herself and also her child, and then grinds up some grains of Netira, a kind of potash, leaving her hair and that of her daughter clean and shiny. The bath is daily, but the washing of the hair with Netira is not.

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Pregnancy and Birth

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When a woman finds herself pregnant, she does not give up her customary chores, but goes to the field as usual and fetches from there heavy loads of maize and other things.

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They use for this, as I have already noted, a kind of close-woven net which the Toba make with the bark of the caraguata or maguety. Those made by the Chiriguano are like the wooden fruit-baskets /chipas/. They are open on top, where they have an easily untied cord, in the middle of which there is a wide band for holding the weight with the forehead (1).

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1. The Chiriguano woman lets all the weight of the load she is carrying rest on her spinal column, etc., holding it with her forehead. If the water is some distance away, she does the same; if not, she carries the vessel vertically on her left shoulder, or on her head, where she places a pad of rags.

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Private Life

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The father and mother take great pains for the material or corporal well-being of their children, both male and female, and they in turn have affection for their parents. Nevertheless there is no lack of creatures with very bad inclinations, who forget their parents' goodness, forget the labors undertaken by the latter in caring for them in their tender years, and abandon them in their old age in the midst of their suffering and privations.

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The father and mother almost never address harsh words to their children; much less do they correct them with corporal punishment. The children attend the public drinking sessions in the company of their parents, and how strange it can seem to see father and son sometimes drunk together in the streets or in the plaza of the town! They see their fathers in other people's fields, taking advantage of the first fruits, and then the son does what he has seen. He hears his mother telling stories not at all clean, he sees acts not at all moral, he witnesses altercations in the house, hears his mother's jealousy, sees his father's bad deeds, and he thus will naturally follow the same path when he arrives at an age of competence and even before.

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If the woman is very young when she is married, as often happens, it is the grandparents who take care of the grandchildren so that the young daughter may have more time to enjoy herself, since in the beginning /222/ marriage is nothing but fun for the young people (1).

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1. Young girls help their mothers in the care of their own children and in the preparation of chicha, knowing that the drunken husband will first hit her, or even his parents-in-law if they try to protect her.

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881 When she goes out at night, her mother accompanies her,
867 but before this is done she receives a thousand pieces of ad-
593 vice and admonishment to walk slowly and very carefully,
not to step on things that might injure her, such as excrement
and other things that her enemies or evil spirits have scattered
around the house, especially by the door and along the path
which she must follow. The maiden listens and keeps quiet,
absorbs everything, and does everything as well as or better than
a Carthusian novice, because her mother has already filled
her head with so many superstitions and has frightened her with
too many dangers.

The father rarely concerns himself with his daughter during
the fasting period; he only sees to it that she does not lack
food and work. He rarely talks to her, but he loves her like
[594] his own eyes and soul. Other persons cannot address her, nor
do her parents permit many and prolonged visits during that
period; in addition everyone also knows that that house is
now sacred and abstains as much as possible from frequenting
it (1).

1. When an attempt was made to reorganize the
S. Antonio Mission of Parapiti, the daughter
of a prestigious Indian was keeping a strict fast.
It was said of her that she could die, it was so
strict. Hardly anyone could see her, and the
poor girl in fact did die a short time later.

885 When the seclusion period decided on by her parents ends,
195 the girl puts away her clothing of what we might call penitence,
washes her face, combs her hair, now grown out, adorns her
cheeks with the help of her friends, adorns her neck and throat
with necklaces of beads, reales, or medallions of silver, puts
bracelets on her wrists, rings on her fingers, puts on her tipoi
of drill or chintz, in various colors, and goes out in public
in order that thus decked out she will arouse admiration and
some young man may fall in love with her and ask for her
to be his wife when it seems appropriate to him, because
now she is no longer a child, but a woman who can carry out

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are allowed to when the burial is over; an aunt accompanies them, especially a maternal one if they have one, and stays in the house for a while, if she does not have children of her own.

They look for her in vain, silent and confused, and not even the tenderness of an aunt, who must swallow her own tears in silence, can distract them from their thoughts. When she hears the motherless ones looking for and asking for the one who was the author of their days, she answers the poor creatures with emotion, and even with force, that she will soon return, either from a nearby town or from the field, and meanwhile tears run down her cheeks, giving the lie to her pretended serenity. But the innocent little ones do not understand and continue with their questions, looking at the aunt diamayed and even frightened. What a sad picture!

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When it is a woman who leaves her husband a widower with children, naturally in a short time he must find another wife who will serve as mother to the motherless children and take care of the house, because a man cannot attend to the things which are the domain of a woman. For a short time he can get his close relatives to attend to such things, but they soon get tired or return to the duties of their own home. Then the widower must look for another woman privately and without hurting the feelings /294/ of the neighbors, who naturally understand the distress of the widower who, if he has a mother or an unmarried sister, does not take such a step and tries to abstain from a second marriage as long as he can, but in every case before the year ends he will have found a new companion to brighten his days and make his life pleasanter (1).

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1. The widower tries to marry a sister of the deceased or a close relative, so that she will have affection for the motherless children. When a new wife is tyrannical or is thrown out, either some other relatives of the deceased or of the widower himself take care of the children; the Chiriguano feel deeply the suffering of bereaved children.

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and our Holy Mother Church (2).

2. The children know how to pray much better in the missions than in other centers, because in every mission there are two teaching establishments, one for boys and one for girls.

The youth grow up under the punctilious care of the missionary, who, by example and word, imbues their hearts with every goodness and love of holy and moral things, and moreover he makes them avoid, insofar as possible, all contact with the old people, managing it so that they see nothing, especially at night, not allowing them to sleep in their houses, except in case of illness and mourning, but it is not easy to avoid it altogether, because three times a day the children go down to the town to eat in their homes, and at fiesta time they are given a holiday, /305/ which they use in hunting birds or in bringing in firewood and foodstuffs (1).

1. The girls receive a more polished education under the uninterrupted vigilance and care of preceptresses, who teach them, in addition to theoretical-practical religion, all the chores of their sex, from spinning to embroidery in silk and gold; the vestments and chasubles for use in the solemnities are the work of these girls.

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What is most ruinous to young neophytes are certain whites of the neighboring cantons, whose profession it is to sell liquor and coca, which they secretly bring into the missions at times of celebration, during which even those of the race enter into the same trade, because they have seen that it is a very lucrative business.

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In addition many of them emigrate temporarily to the establishments of the Argentine Republic, where, with the excuse that they are going to earn a great deal with a little work, they lead too free a life, drink liquor like water, and become accustomed to drunkenness; then the first thing that they buy is an outsize

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knife; they learn to use it like the gauchos, get into fights, are injured, and even get killed, and, when they return to the mission, they only bring a little black clothing for themselves, a trifle or nothing for their wives, to whom they deliver a sovereign beating on the first chance they get, with reason or without, and then, at the first drinking bout they molest peaceful people, disturb public order, and always or nearly always it becomes necessary to bewail the spilling of blood. Let there be added to all of this the fact that the virus of irreligion is beginning to be inoculated hereabouts, and inasmuch as they are not well grounded in the dogmas of the Catholic faith, the result is that those who do not behave like infidels or indifferent persons are Protestants on the haciendas of the Argentine Republic and Catholics in the mission.

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There is no doubt; moral, religious, and civil progress is the work of time; it is not the work of 40 or 50 years, as some believe. How long does it take to implant social reform among civilized people? How long did it take the Church to become established in the Roman Empire? Truth fought against error for more than 300 years; she was persecuted, shut up in the catacombs, and bathed in the blood of millions of martyrs of the Catholic faith, but in the end she triumphed and raised herself, radiant, above the ruins of error which had reigned for so many centuries.

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No effort to implant social reform is made in the missions; what is being done is to build, to uproot the Indian from the jungle, to make him come out of barbarism, and to begin to teach him to be a man, to consider himself nobler than the brute; an effort is being made to remove from him the superstition /306/ in which he was born, so that he may believe in the maxims of the true faith. What sacrifice then must it not cost the missionary, who spends the best years, or even all the years, of his life in order to realize this grandiose project without earthly recompense, but rather with the marked scorn of those who should appreciate his highly civilized work (1).

1. The Father Prefect Friar Romualdo d'Ambrogi has been in the Potosí Missions since the year 1872; almost all the missions have been founded by him;